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Thursday, 26 July 2012, 3 p.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Osorio	(Colombia)
Members:	Azerbaijan	Mr. Huseynli
	China	Mr. Yang Tao
	France	Mr. Bertoux
	Germany	Mr. Berger
	Guatemala	Mr. Briz Gutiérrez
	India	Mr. Raguttahalli
	Morocco	Mr. Loulichki
	Pakistan	Mr. Tarar
	Portugal	Mr. Moraes Cabral
	Russian Federation	Mr. Zhukov
	South Africa	Mr. Sangqu
	Togo	Mr. Menan
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Ms. Hendrie
	United States of America	Mr. DeLaurentis

Agenda

The situation in Guinea-Bissau

Report of the Secretary-General on developments in Guinea-Bissau and on the activities of the United Nations Integrated Peacebuilding Office in that country (S/2012/554)

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The meeting was called to order at 3.10 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Guinea-Bissau

Report of the Secretary-General on developments in Guinea-Bissau and on the activities of the United Nations Integrated Peacebuilding Office in that country (S/2012/554)

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): In accordance with rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite the representatives of Côte d'Ivoire, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique to participate in this meeting.

Under rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite Mr. Joseph Mutaboba, Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of the United Nations Integrated Peacebuilding Office in Guinea-Bissau, to participate in this meeting.

Under rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite Her Excellency Ambassador Maria Luiza Ribeiro Viotti, Permanent Representative of Brazil, in her capacity as Chair of the Guinea-Bissau configuration of the Peacebuilding Commission, to participate in this meeting.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

I wish to draw the attention of Council members to document S/2012/554, which contains the report of the Secretary-General on developments in Guinea-Bissau and on the activities of the United Nations Integrated Peacebuilding Office in that country.

I now give the floor to Mr. Mutaboba.

Mr. Mutaboba: I am pleased to introduce the report of the Secretary-General (S/2012/554) on developments in Guinea-Bissau and on the activities of the United Nations Integrated Peacebuilding Office in Guinea-Bissau (UNIOGBIS). My briefing will focus on major developments in the country since the report was issued and on key challenges related to the restoration of constitutional order in Guinea-Bissau.

As members of the Council are aware, national and international opinion is divided over the current transitional arrangements in Guinea-Bissau. The country is politically split between those supporting the Transitional Government, notably the Party for Social Renewal (PRS), the military, the five candidates who contested the first round of the 18 March presidential elections, and the forum of opposition political parties, on the one hand, and those who do not recognize the transitional authorities, especially the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC) and the anti-coup front, on the other. This split is also visible within Guinea-Bissau's civil society and could worsen even more if the parties do not engage in dialogue to find a way out of the political impasse.

Furthermore, the National Assembly has been paralysed since the fourth parliamentary session started on 29 June, due to disagreements among parliamentarians over the session's agenda. The Interim Speaker, Ibraima Sori Djaló, and his PRS party have objected to the motion tabled by the PAIGC for the inclusion of the election of a new Speaker and a new First Deputy Speaker on the agenda, in line with the recommendation issued on 3 May by the heads of State of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). This has created an impasse that has resulted in the closure of the session. In a public memorandum issued on 20 July, the Permanent Commission of the PAIGC Political Bureau stated that the Interim Speaker should allow parliamentarians to vote for the agenda of the parliamentary session, in accordance with the National Assembly's rules and procedures, in order to end the deadlock in Parliament.

In an attempt to reach out to the international community represented in Guinea-Bissau, on 12 July the Transitional Government launched a bi-weekly forum of the Government and international partners to discuss issues related to the transitional process. Transitional Prime Minister Rui Duarte de Barros, who opened the meeting, highlighted the need for international partners to support the Transitional Government's efforts to implement its mandate, including the conduct of a biometric voter registration process scheduled for 15 August to 15 September, the prosecution of those responsible for the 2009 political assassinations, and the convening of the long-overdue national conference. On 19 July, Transitional President Nhamadjo announced in an interview that general elections would take place in April 2013.

On the international scene, Guinea-Bissau's partners remain deeply divided over the current transitional process. From 28 to 29 June, Transitional

President Nhamadjo attended the forty-first ordinary session of the ECOWAS heads of State and Government in Yamoussoukro, Côte d'Ivoire. In their final communiqué following the meeting, ECOWAS leaders endorsed the transitional organs established in Guinea-Bissau and called on the international community to recognize and support the Transitional Government. They also decided to suspend the general sanctions imposed on Guinea-Bissau, and urged all political actors and civil society organizations to work together to achieve a truly inclusive Government in order to ensure a consensual transition. Furthermore, ECOWAS leaders encouraged the Transitional President and Prime Minister to intensify their efforts aimed at conducting a presidential election in the course of the transitional period. Finally, they directed the ECOWAS Commission to take all necessary measures to intensify consultations with Guinea-Bissau's partners in order to forge an international consensus on the transition.

Shortly thereafter, following the meeting of its Peace and Security Council in Addis Ababa on 14 July, the African Union released a communiqué in which it encouraged ECOWAS to pursue its efforts, in close coordination with the other relevant international actors — notably the Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries (CPLP), the African Union, the United Nations and the European Union (EU) — towards the implementation of the decisions relating to the return to constitutional order in Guinea-Bissau. It also welcomed the ongoing consultations towards the early convening of a meeting of the International Contact Group on Guinea-Bissau.

On its part, on 19 July the CPLP issued a statement following the meeting of its Council of Ministers in Maputo, Mozambique, in which it reaffirmed its recognition of the deposed elected authorities of Guinea-Bissau. It also reiterated its call for the full restoration of constitutional order and the completion of the presidential electoral process in Guinea-Bissau. The CPLP further called for close coordination between the African Union, ECOWAS, the EU and the CPLP, under the aegis of the United Nations, in establishing a partnership for the stabilization of the country, and pledged to work towards the holding of a high-level meeting to develop a comprehensive and integrated strategy aimed at the restoration of constitutional order in Guinea-Bissau.

Pursuant to an invitation from the CPLP, deposed Interim President Raimundo Pereira represented Guinea-Bissau at the CPLP summit of heads of State and Government on 20 July in Maputo. The President of the European Commission, José Manuel Barroso, who also attended the summit, stated that the European Union would not tolerate more coups in Guinea-Bissau and that constitutional order must be respected.

Meanwhile, elements of the ECOWAS Mission in Bissau Force have been deployed to the port and airport and all ministries in Bissau, with the exception of the Ministries of Defence and the Interior, as part of their mandate to secure State institutions. The deployment of other elements of the Force to the National Assembly, on 5 July, was suspended after members of the PAIGC objected, arguing that the presence of armed individuals in Parliament was in contravention of parliamentary rules.

The humanitarian, social and economic situation in the country remains fragile. While most economic activities have returned to normalcy, economic performance has reportedly slowed down, and indicators are being revised downwards. The lack of support from Guinea-Bissau's traditional partners, such as the African Development Bank, the European Union, the World Bank, the CPLP and the International Monetary Fund has also affected the country's socio-economic conditions. According to the President of Guinea-Bissau's farmers' association, the cashew production will drop from 200,000 tons in 2011 to approximately 100,000 this year, as a result of the 12 April coup d'état. That is particularly disturbing when one considers that cashew production accounts for 90 per cent of the country's income and that the sector employs almost 80 per cent of the labour force, according to official sources.

The transitional authorities have reported a wave of criminal activities in Bissau and have blamed the lack of policing resources for the situation. There have also been reliable reports that since, 12 April, drug trafficking activities have increased in the country.

In accordance with resolution 2048 (2012), the Secretary-General has continued to engage actively with ECOWAS and other international organizations in support of efforts to ensure the restoration of constitutional order in Guinea-Bissau. In Bissau, UNIOGBIS has held regular meetings with international partners to discuss the challenges facing Guinea-Bissau and to determine the way forward in arriving at a common approach to the transition. However, all efforts

aimed at harmonizing the positions of international partners have yet to produce the desired results.

I have personally conducted consultations with a wide range of stakeholders, including political parties, civil society organizations, religious leaders, trade unions, youth and women groups, as well as business associations, on the need to engage in an inclusive dialogue aimed at creating the conditions for a successful transition. All the groups consulted stressed the need for the people of Guinea-Bissau and the country's leadership to engage in an inclusive and frank dialogue aimed at agreeing on the key challenges facing the country, as well as on the short-, medium- and long-term solutions. My meetings with national stakeholders have also addressed the need for the people of Guinea-Bissau to tackle the root causes of the recurring problems in the country.

In the coming weeks, UNIOGBIS will continue to create the space for key political actors to come together to agree on the conditions required to move the transition forward. It is, however, critical that ECOWAS and the CPLP, in collaboration with the African Union, the European Union and the United Nations, overcome their prevailing differences and agree on a common position. That will help to lay the foundations for a more meaningful and inclusive dialogue among national stakeholders, who are watching us. There is room for everyone to be useful in Guinea-Bissau, and the population needs us all now more than ever before.

Going forward, it will be important to ensure that all political actors and civil society in Guinea-Bissau work together to achieve a truly inclusive Government in order to ensure a consensual transition as called for by ECOWAS in its communiqué of 29 June, as a step towards the restoration of constitutional order. In addition, national political actors must work towards ending the deadlock in Parliament if that institution is to function during the transition.

The implementation of reforms in the defence, security and justice sectors and the fight against impunity and drug trafficking are key challenges facing Guinea-Bissau at this critical juncture. Concrete actions must be taken to fight impunity and ensure that those responsible for politically motivated assassinations and other serious crimes, such as increasing illicit drug trafficking-related activities and breaches of constitutional order, are at last brought to justice, which is overdue.

As stated by the Secretary-General in the report before the Council, the United Nations stands ready to explore possible options to facilitate and support the investigations and prosecution of those responsible for the 2009 assassinations, the 1 April 2010 military events, the incident of 26 December 2011, the killings of 27 December 2011 and 18 March 2012, as well as drug trafficking activities and breaches of constitutional order.

I reiterate the Secretary-General's appeal to the Security Council to send the right message to Guinea-Bissau's leaders that they must place above all their country and the interests of its people, whose living conditions have continued to worsen since the coup. Indeed, the people of Guinea-Bissau alone have responsibility to shape the future of their country, but equally, regional, continental and international partners must arrive at a common position on how best to assist the country in moving towards the full restoration of constitutional order. Time is of the essence and we must take further concrete steps if we want to achieve that goal.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): I thank Mr. Mutaboba for his briefing.

I now give the floor to Ambassador Ribeiro Viotti.

Mrs. Ribeiro Viotti: I thank you, Mr. President, for convening this meeting and for inviting me to brief the Security Council in my capacity as Chair of the Guinea-Bissau configuration of the Peacebuilding Commission.

I welcome the Permanent Representative of Mozambique, as Chair of the Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries (CPLP), Ambassador António Gumende; the Permanent Representative of Côte d'Ivoire, on behalf of the President of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Commission, Ambassador Youssoufou Bamba; and the Permanent Representative of Guinea-Bissau, Ambassador João Soares Da Gama. I also thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Joseph Mutaboba, for his briefing and for his valuable work as head of the United Nations Integrated Peacebuilding Office in Guinea-Bissau (UNIOGBIS).

Since the coup d'état of 12 April, the Guinea-Bissau configuration of the Peacebuilding Commission has been striving to facilitate dialogue among the main stakeholders and international partners of

Guinea-Bissau, in particular ECOWAS and the CPLP, to enable concerted action by the international community in addressing the situation in the country. A number of coordination meetings have taken place. Although the international community has shown unity of purpose — the restoration of constitutional order and the return of stability to Guinea-Bissau — we still lack a common strategy to achieve those goals. Such objectives can only be reached if the international partners of Guinea-Bissau speak with one voice, underscoring that the international community will work in a coherent and coordinated manner towards an inclusive and sustainable solution to the current crisis.

Almost four months after the military coup, constitutional order is still to be restored and the humanitarian and economic situation keeps deteriorating on the ground, as we just heard from Mr. Mutaboba's briefing. The derailment of the electoral process has reduced international confidence and donor support for the country, thus threatening the hard-won socio-economic gains that stability brought to Guinea-Bissau in the recent past, especially as regards institution-building, economic recovery, financial management and the fight against drug trafficking.

The current arrangement for the transition in Guinea-Bissau has not been accepted by key national stakeholders, and still does not meet the requirements of legitimacy according to many of the country's international partners. It is not conducive to stability or a sustainable political solution, as it excludes the main political force in Guinea-Bissau. The current transitional arrangement also calls into question the country's capacity to pursue efforts related to its most pressing peacebuilding priorities, such as security sector reform and the fight against impunity and transnational organized crime, in particular drug trafficking.

The restoration of constitutional order in Guinea-Bissau should be brought about through dialogue and negotiations, with the participation of all political forces in the country. The United Nations, the African Union, ECOWAS, the CPLP and the European Union should seek convergence of views and mutually reinforce each other's actions in order to support such a process.

To that end, we should consider the holding of a high-level meeting on Guinea-Bissau, to be convened by the Secretary-General, with the aim of articulating a common strategy to bring a lasting and stable solution to the current crisis in Guinea-Bissau. Such a meeting would require adequate preparation in order to achieve meaningful results. The configuration is ready to contribute to such an initiative.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): I thank Mrs. Ribero Viotti for here briefing.

I now give the floor to Mr. Bamba.

Mr. Bamba: I am delivering this statement on behalf of the Chairman of the Authority of Heads of State and Government of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS).

I would like at the outset to welcome Ambassador Joseph Mutaboba, Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of the United Nations Integrated Peacebuilding Office in Guinea Bissau (UNIOGBIS), and to congratulate him on his comprehensive presentation. I would also like to welcome Ambassador António Gumende and to congratulate him on assuming the chair of the Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries (CPLP). I would like to thank my dear friend and colleague Ambassador Viotti for her endeavours to bring about a lasting solution in Guinea-Bissau. Last but not least, I welcome my friend Ambassador Da Gama of Guinea-Bissau, who is joining forces with us to bring about a solution to the ongoing crisis there.

The transitional process in Guinea-Bissau is being hindered by the pro-Carlos Gomes Júnior faction of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC), with the active support and assistance of its external supporters. Notwithstanding several diplomatic initiatives taken to undermine the process by supporters of the faction at international forums, the Transitional Government, which includes other PAIGC members, has maintained its focus on reaching out to that very faction within the party to achieve the inclusiveness and consensus called for in resolution 2048 (2012), the final communiqués of the ECOWAS summits of Dakar and Yamoussoukro, as well as the African Union Peace and Security Council resolution of 14 July 2012.

The population in Guinea-Bissau is witnessing a new environment of political peace, security and stability prevailing in the country, instead of the recent chaos and anarchy and despite misinformation being served up in some media. The dialogue between the Carlos Gomes Júnior faction of the PAIGC and the

Transitional Government is ongoing. Efforts are also under way to ensure the normal functioning of the National Assembly, which is expected to become a reality shortly.

Those developments have occurred as a result of the unrelenting efforts made by the ECOWAS office in encouraging dialogue among the principal protagonists. Members of the Transitional Government, in particular the Transitional President himself, the Prime Minister and the Minister of Defence — all PAIGC members, it is worth noting — have been very active in promoting dialogue among the different parties in the country. In that respect, it is necessary for the international community not to rush decisions but to allow the internal stakeholders the space to dialogue among themselves, within the framework of resolution 2048 (2012) and the Dakar and Yamoussoukro ECOWAS final communiqués, to resolve whatever difficulties they face in advancing the transitional process.

The ECOWAS office in Bissau, in compliance with resolution 2048 (2012), has facilitated the holding of fortnightly meetings with the country's development partners at the premises of the United Nations Integrated Peacebuilding Office in Guinea-Bissau. It is regrettable, however, that some countries persist in their refusal to recognize and deal with the Transitional Government as a matter of national policy. It is also regrettable that the hard-line faction of the PAIGC and other international figures continue to support the Carlos Gomes Júnior faction against the Transitional Government at such meetings, and insist on the impossible demand of reinstating the overthrown Government.

In that regard, ECOWAS regrets that the CPLP invited Mr. Raimundo Pereira and Carlos Gomes Júnior to its Maputo summit of 20 July as official representatives of the Guinea-Bissau Government. That group, in furtherance of its objective, has also declined to participate in a forum that the international partners themselves mandated the Special Representative of the ECOWAS Commission President to arrange between them and the Government to serve as the platform for engaging the latter in frank and purposeful discussions on issues of concern to all partners. The inaugural meeting, held on 12 July and declared open by the Prime Minister, was attended by only the ambassadors of ECOWAS member States, the representative of the African Union and a handful of other partners, including the World Bank representative. The Forum will continue nonetheless to be held fortnightly between the willing partners and the leadership of the Transitional Government to help to keep it focused on the implementation of the priority programmes for the transition.

The urgent priority tasks currently are the following: the maintenance of peace, security and stability in the country, biometric registration of eligible voters and other requisite activities in preparation for presidential and legislative elections at the end of the transition, social and economic development activities, and the defence and security sector reform programme. Right now, elements of the formed police units (FPUs) of the ECOWAS Mission Force in Guinea-Bissau mount regular joint patrols at night in Bissau with their Guinean counterparts to secure the peace. Military personnel have remained confined to the barracks and do not participate in those night patrols. The FPUs have also been deployed together with their local counterparts to protect selected Government ministries, public institutions and establishments.

Regarding the elections, the legal bases for the biometric registration and demarcation of electoral constituencies already exist. Therefore, the need for new legislation for carrying on with the process to cover the remaining three regions — the Autonomous Region of Bissau, Cacheu and Biombo — will not arise. It is to be noted that the demarcation of six of the country's nine regions was completed by the National Electoral Commission for the March 2012 presidential elections. ECOWAS is working hard to ensure the holding of the presidential election, and possibly legislative elections as well, within the transitional period.

On the defence and security sector reform programme, ECOWAS will shortly reactivate discussions with the Government of Guinea-Bissau in Abuja on the memorandum of understanding on the implementation of that programme. It is also the intention of ECOWAS to review the road map document to give priority to new developments and needs, including quick-impact projects.

The greater the cohesion within the international community regarding structural matters, the quicker and more effectively urgent initiatives can be carried out, including the security sector reform programme, the fight against drug trafficking and the investigations into past acts of impunity, all of which should be undertaken. In line with resolution 2048 (2012) and the decisions of the African Union Peace and Security

Council, ECOWAS is working hard to agree a new date with all concerned partners, particularly the CPLP, for holding the next meeting of the International Contact Group on Guinea-Bissau, possibly in September in the margins of the sixty-seventh session of the General Assembly.

In any case, ECOWAS stands ready to make a trip to Lisbon, Portugal, at any time the CPLP is available, to meet with CPLP with a view to holding open and frank discussions and making it possible for the international community to speak with one voice.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): I now give the floor to the representative of Mozambique, who will speak in his capacity as Chair of the Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries.

Mr. Gumende (Mozambique): I am honoured to have been invited to participate, as Chair of the Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries (CPLP), in this meeting devoted to the situation in Guinea-Bissau. I would also like to thank Mr. Joseph Mutaboba, Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Guinea-Bissau; Ambassador Maria Luiza Ribeiro Viotti, Permanent Representative of Brazil and Chair of the Guinea-Bissau configuration of the Peacebuilding Commission; and Ambassador Youssoufou Bamba, Permanent Representative of Côte d'Ivoire and Chair of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), for their briefings today.

The Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries has been following with deep concern the internal situation in Guinea-Bissau since the coup d'état on 12 April that interrupted the country's progress towards consolidating democracy and political and institutional normalization. The internal political atmosphere is still very fragile, with serious implications for peace, stability, economic development and the humanitarian situation. In order to reverse this scenario, the CPLP advocates the full implementation of resolution 2048 (2012), adopted on 18 May, aimed at achieving a restoration of constitutional order and the resumption of the democratic process interrupted by the coup.

I would like to draw the attention of the members of the Security Council to the fact that the prevailing situation in Guinea-Bissau was thoroughly discussed at the CPLP's ninth summit of heads of State and Government, held in Maputo, Mozambique, on 20 July. The summit culminated in the adoption of a declaration on Guinea-Bissau by which the heads of State and Government of the CPLP reiterate their call for the full re-establishment of the constitutional order, restoring the functioning and authority of the legitimate bodies of governance, including the Interim President of the Republic and the Prime Minister.

As the declaration highlights, the CPLP considers it essential to promote, under the aegis of the United Nations, close coordination with other regional and international partners, notably the African Union, ECOWAS and the European Union, with a view to establishing a partnership that can contribute effectively to stabilizing Guinea-Bissau.

In that process, the CPLP encourages the pursuit of reform of the defence and security sectors and the strengthening of the fight against drug trafficking as fundamental elements of an effective and sustainable stabilization strategy for Guinea-Bissau. In line with those efforts, we appeal to the international community to convene a high-level meeting under United Nations sponsorship, with a view to developing a comprehensive and integrated strategy aimed at restoring constitutional order in Guinea-Bissau.

Let me conclude my remarks by stressing our solidarity with the people of Guinea-Bissau and reaffirming the full commitment and openness of the Mozambican chairmanship of the CPLP to working closely with all relevant partners to find a lasting solution to the crisis in Guinea-Bissau.

Mr. Moraes Cabral (Portugal): I had not intended to speak at this meeting and, as usual, will keep my comments for our consultations later. But I must say that I should dispel the erroneous impression that the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC), which we all know is the majority party in Guinea-Bissau, is part of the Government. It is not part of the Transitional Government. The gentlemen who were mentioned have not had any connection with the PAIGC for a long time now, as has been made clear by successive communiqués of the legitimate authorities of the Party.

My second comment, related to the first, is that what has been called this afternoon the Carlos Gomes Júnior faction of the PAIGC does in fact translate to two-thirds of the members of the Parliament in Guinea-Bissau. I think to call them a faction lacks elegance, if nothing else.

My third comment, and I will finish here, is that international partners have indeed refrained from collaborating with the illegitimate authorities. But let me assure the Council that those international institutions that have refrained from collaborating with those behind the coup d'état will continue to do so. That means not collaborating until a credible political transition is put in place.

Finally, concerning what was described as the normalcy of life in Guinea-Bissau, I will only refer to what Mr. Mutaboba said about the rise in criminal activity and drug trafficking. I apologize for intervening.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): There are no more speakers inscribed on the list of speakers.

I now invite Council members to informal consultations to continue our discussion on the subject.

The meeting rose at 3.45 p.m.